

618 eldest son chosen and appointed. In one such case, in
578 the clan of the Na T'u-ssu, four T'u-ssu of other clans
611 were invited in to arbitrate, and after discussions which
lasted many days the son of a rich man, the third brother
of the T'u-ssu who had just died, was agreed on and
appointed by the clan.

175 According to the *Annals of Hsining* (ch. 24, p. 8) the
618 last T'u-ssu of the Ming period in the clan of Li, of the
578 line founded by Li Nan-ko, was a man named Li Hua-
611 lung, who died without issue. Li T'ien-yu, the first
cousin of Li Hua-lung who had just died, belonging to
the same generation in order of descent from the clan
ancestor, and of the same house, laid claim to the succe-
sion. In order to put an end to trouble within the family,
one hundred families of commoners out of the four
thousand belonging to the T'u-ssu were given to the
contending claimant Li Hua-nao, and consenting to a
petition from the nobles who were his relatives in the
clan, the Manchu Emperor bestowed on him the title of
T'u-ssu. Thus Li Hua-nao became the "founding
ancestor" of a new clan, with one hundred families of
commoners as subjects.

618 Thus while the historical material seems to show that
in most cases the choice and appointment of a new
chief of the clan are a mere formality, there are also
instances that seem to prove that the rule of succession
is not always clear-cut, especially when the T'u-ssu dies
without male issue. In any case, a daughter never suc-
ceeds because the clans are built on a strictly patrilineal
family system with male chieftaincy. In this respect,
as will be seen below in the chapter dealing with family
organization, the rules of ordinary family succession
tally with those that govern the succession of the chief
of the clan, and the head of the family presides over
religious cult practices within the family as the chief
presides within the clan.

In case the succeeding son is still a minor, however,
his mother is appointed regent by the sovereign state,
formerly the Empire and later the Republic. This
custom seems to prove that the senior son, even if still
a minor, has a specific claim to succeed his father.

There is a discrepancy between the Monguor rule of
succession as far as it can be checked by historical
documents and an ancient Mongol custom that prevailed
up to the time of Chingis Khan, under which the eldest
son received his portion of the inheritance while his
parents were still living and moved away to live as the
head of his own family; the next son, in due course,
similarly left the parental camp, and finally the youngest
son was left to care for his parents in their old age and
to receive the residual inheritance. Under this custom,
the original tent, camp, and herds remained with the
youngest son, while the most distant related camp was
that of his eldest brother, who had moved away first and
farthest. Barthold, commenting on this custom, notes
that Chingis Khan, during his lifetime, endowed his
sons and other relations with appanages, and that Juchi,

608 curing the opportunity to pasture his large flocks of
648 sheep on the Tibetan grazing grounds. Similarly, a
[282] Muslim will take the oath with a Monguor in order
to increase and improve his wool and skin business by
having, within the territory of the clan of his Monguor
friend, a protector for his business and a home at which
to stay. The Monguor benefits by being able to stay
with his Muslim brother for several days at a time when
making trips outside of Monguor territory.

Another special application of the institution of sworn
brothers will be noted when we come to the descrip-
tion of the trading caravans that travel into and through
Tibetan territory, and of the fishing engaged in by the
Monguors in the waters of Kukur lake.

608 In contrast to the tradition in the time of Chinggis Khan
that after the death of a sworn brother his son might ap-
peal to the surviving sworn brother, among the Mon-
guors the family of a sworn brother who has died has
no continuing obligation. The oath may be taken for a
limited period and for the achievement of a specific pur-
pose, and be terminated when the purpose has been
achieved. The oath may also be formally terminated
under other conditions. Thus, in one case of which I
knew, three young men in the district of Tolong took
the oath together. Six months later they invited an
old man to become their "sworn father." A goat was
killed and the ceremony was carried out. For three
years the three young men were faithful sworn brothers
and showed toward their "sworn father" the devotion
of true sons. The relationship was publicly known.
After three years, however, gossip began to spread.
People wondered why this oath had been taken when
the district was at peace. It was suggested that per-
haps they had subversive intentions of some kind and
that harm might come to the whole community. Even-
tually the chief and elders of the village summoned both
the sworn brothers and their sworn "father" before
them and ordered them to abjure their relationship at
a ceremony at the village temple, in the presence of the
whole community.

Among Monguor women the equivalent or partial
equivalent of "blood brotherhood" is to become "dry
sisters." This relationship is only between two women;
it is not extended to a group of more than two. The
two who agree to be "dry sisters" do not swear an oath,
but present each other with a piece of clothing and sit
down to a meal together. They visit each other at New
Year's, on the fifth day of the fifth month; and go to
help each other in time of sickness. They invite each
other to such celebrations as those for childbirth and
marriage.

PROPERTY AND INHERITANCE

428 The division of the inheritance is one of the most diffi-
596 cult of all problems in the extended family of the patri-
lineal Monguor society. It usually takes place when
the grandfather dies and the sons decide to set up sepa-

428 rate "chimneys." The decision to separate has usually,
596 in such cases, been foreshadowed by quarrels and re-
sentment among the sons, making it inevitable that when
the actual division of the inheritance takes place there
are bitter disputes.

In order to make a satisfactory settlement possible, the
sons usually invite the chief of the village and the village
elders, the senior representatives of their own patrilineal
kin, and of course their own maternal uncle and those
of their wives to take part in the discussion, which takes
place in the open air at the threshing floor, witnessed by
the population of the whole village. Such a discussion
may take several days. Each maternal uncle is the ad-
vocate of his own sister's son, the seniors of the patri-
lineal kin represent the common interest of the patri-
lineal line, and the village chief and elders are the voices
of the community.

In this discussion every possible proposal and com-
promise is put forward in order to secure an agreement
that will leave no smoldering feud behind among the
brothers. Finally contracts are written, a sheep is
slaughtered, and a dinner is given to the elders to
thank them for their services. The brothers prostrate
themselves before each other to signify that, though
they have broken up the extended family, they are still
on good terms.

The property that is thus divided is of several kinds.
Among any people, riches are relative to the economic
system as a whole. Since the Monguors have become
agricultural, land is the most valuable property. Since
the tradition of cattle breeding still continues, however,
livestock are also important. In addition houses, agri-
cultural implements, clothes, and money must be con-
sidered.

The basis on which division must be determined is
the fact that under the patrilineal system the entire
extended family, with authority concentrated in the
grandfather, is the owner of fields, cattle, houses, agricul-
tural implements, and money, with individual property
restricted to a few personal possessions. As long as
the extended family holds together, all of its members
produce for the common benefit and what is to be done
with what they earn is decided by the head of the family.

Since, under the patrilineal system, sons alone may
inherit, the property is first divided into as many shares
as there are sons with the modification, already noted
above, that the eldest son receives an extra large share
and the eldest son of the eldest son also receives a special
share; a son who has become a lama, however (and
therefore will have no legitimate heirs), receives no
share at all.

The sons of a son who has died are entitled to receive
and divide their father's share. A son who has been
adopted by his father's brother inherits from his adopted
father and not from his real father. Similarly, a son
who has been given to be adopted by a non-related family
loses his rights of inheritance in his family of origin.

428 If one of the sons has died without having sons of his own and without having adopted a son, his share is divided among his brothers.

596 If, in order to acquire a wife, a man has contracted to work all his life in his wife's family he loses all right of inheritance in his family of origin, although he retains

583 his original surname or clan name. Such a man may

428 try to claim a share in the inheritance of his wife's family, but the claim is usually contested and settled by some sort of compromise—indicating that this kind of marriage is in itself a makeshift, not fully provided for by the rules and customs of the society. As I have pointed out in my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 118-119) the right of such a man to inherit from his family of origin is academic, since he would not have left his family for the sake of this kind of marriage unless his family had been so poor that it could offer him no inheritance worth having.

The customs of inheritance show the difference between "marriage with the pole" and "marriage with the girdle." The girl who "marries with the pole" does not leave the clan or lose her clan name; consequently, her children, by unknown or unacknowledged fathers, bear the clan name and remain in the clan, which entitles them to a share in the inheritance as if their mother had in fact been their father. In the case of the girl who "marries with the girdle" on the other hand the father is known and acknowledged, as explained above. The girl takes the clan name of this man, even though he may never return, and consequently her child or children do not bear her clan name and are not entitled to share in the inheritance.

428 It is fully in accordance with the patrilineal principle that husband and wife do not inherit from each other or from each other's families. An exception to this rule is that the widow of the head of an extended family always receives some land and livestock from her husband. The exception is only partial and temporary however, as the widow lives with one of her sons, generally the youngest, who inherits this property after her death.²⁰

Because of the strong influence of Tibetan society on that of the Monguors, a word should be said about the Tibetan rules of inheritance. In my previous study, *Le mariage chez les T'ou-jen* (p. 49), I mentioned that in the speech made by the master of ceremonies at a Mon-

²⁰ This arrangement corresponds to the ancient custom in pastoral nomadic society under which (a) the sons as they grew up were provided with wives and given a share of the cattle, whereupon they could move away and set up independent camps, leaving the youngest son as guardian of the parents in their old age and sole heir to the residual family property at their death; and (b) if a man had secondary wives, these were, at his death, inherited by his sons with the exception that the first wife could not be inherited by any of the sons and no secondary wife could be inherited by her own son, thus making it necessary to provide for the senior wife until her death. These principles are obviously rooted in the fact that when livestock, instead of land, are the most important property, dispersal may be convenient in order to avoid crowding the pastures.—O. L. [p. 108 b]

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guor marriage there is a hint of a custom under which, at the division of the paternal inheritance, a daughter was entitled to a share amounting to half of the share received by a son. I now doubt very much whether this reference is really an echo of a formerly existing Monguor custom. On the one hand, it does not correspond to the clearly expressed principles of Monguor inheritance, and on the other hand it tallies exactly with the rules of inheritance of those Tibetans whom the Chinese call Hsifan, who are the nearest Tibetan neighbors of the Monguors. A large number of families of Tibetan origin are enrolled in the Monguor clans, and there are many marriages between Monguors and Tibetans. The Tibetan custom is well known to the Monguors, and since it is favorable to the woman it must be a topic of conversation among Monguor women and may through this channel have crept into the phraseology of the master of ceremonies as an expression that is flattering to the bride but has no legal validity for the ultimate division of the inheritance.

Among the Tibetans, if the inheritance is divided before the death of the parents, the parents receive four parts of all the money in the family, sons receive two parts, grandsons one part, and unmarried daughters also receive one part. This division corresponds exactly to the reference in the speech by the Monguor master of ceremonies at a marriage. (Tibetan granddaughters and married daughters receive nothing.)

In the division of grain, each person—parents, sons, and daughters—receives one part.⁴⁰ In the division of cattle, the parents receive three parts, the sons two parts, the grandsons one part, and the sons of unmarried girls also one part. This division tallies exactly with the Monguor custom of giving a share to the children of a daughter who "marries with the pole," suggesting that this form of marriage is influenced by the Tibetan custom under which a daughter may stay at home and bear children for her own family instead of marrying and going to her husband's family. In the division of livestock these unmarried girls do not receive horses, but they receive as many cows as their brothers receive horses.

When the inheritance is thus divided before the death of the father, the Tibetan father goes to live with one of the sons and the mother with another. The unmarried daughter who has a son must make her own living. If she later has another son, he must become a lama. If such a girl later marries, her inheritance belongs to her.

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Certain kinds of property among the Monguors are recognized as personal and not subject to family inheritance. Each person owns his own clothes. A man who engages in hunting is the owner of his own gun. A man who does part time work as a silver smith or maker of knives is the owner of the tools of his trade.

⁴⁰ This scale of division, not favoring either the parents or the sons, suggests that grain is a late addition to the Tibetan economy, and of secondary importance.—O. L. [p. 109a]

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587 The conditions the family lays down are the following: the
593 sons will remain the descendants of the dead man; they will continue
[264] to bear his name and will later be buried in their father's cemetery.
The new husband will bring them up and feed them. When they
reach marriageable age, he will buy them a wife, or he will give
the family the required sum ad hoc; then he will be able to send away
the married ones, who will provide for their own subsistence. As
for the daughters, he will be able to sell them. Since he obligates
himself for expenses which so many burdens necessitate, the family
does not demand any compensation for the widow.

587 /114/ It often happens that as a consequence of misunderstand-
589 ings and quarrels, the brothers divide up the property and debts
578 among themselves and form independent families. When a widow of
421 such a family wants to remarry, the family requires the new husband
to recognize the debts of the dead man; and the creditors exert
pressure on the family to prevent the marriage in case of refusal;
but if they are lucky enough to be dealing with a virago who threatens
to come with her children and live with them, the difficulties vanish,
the debts are put on the children's account and will be demanded
later when the children are grown.

587 In the case where the widow with her children has inherited
● 428 several plots of land from her dead husband, the new husband will
593 be able to work them to support his family, but he will not be able
to sell them since they are the property of the male orphans /sley/.
Once they are married, the latter can demand these lands and send
their foster father away with their mother, which often happens; if
they get along well, they stay together. If, on the other hand, the
new husband has lands of his own, and the widow does not, he main-
tains the family, gets the sons married, and sends them away. If
during the marriage the family becomes richer, if the patrimony in-
creases, and children are born of the new marriage, the children of
the first husband will receive the share of their dead father plus half
of the lands and assets acquired after the second marriage. The per-
sonal properties of the new husband are inherited by his own children.
If the husband happens to die without leaving children, his personal

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Mo assets and his widow being the property of his own family, they go
587 back into its domain.

• 428 These conditions show clearly that the widow is considered to
593 have left the family of her former parents-in-law completely; the
Mo latter have given up all the rights they had with respect to her and
589 have entrusted the children to her with the obligation to raise them
for their clan.

Mo When such a marriage is made, a contract is always written in
587 duplicate; /115/ one copy is kept by the husband, and the other is
587 given to the family of the former parents-in-law of the widow. In it
675 minute mention is made of properties, debts, ... and then of the
obligations of the new husband.

Mo If they remain poor after the marriage and find it impossible to
382 marry off the sons, when the latter have grown up they end up by
going away as they wish.

Mo There is no abduction to fear in the present case; the marriage
587 takes place very simply and openly. If the widow has plots of land
591 and the husband does not, he comes to live with her; in the opposite
case, the widow with the children moves in with him. If neither
one nor the other has anything, they look for a place to stay and go
to live together. One prostration to heaven and to the spirits, in the
presence of the go-between and the parents, and this is all the cere-
mony of such marriages; add to it another to the parents and to the
go-between. (1)

Mo 1. Shirokogoroff, op. cit.¹ p. 142:

428 If the widow and her daughters do not
589 wish to be cared for by their husband's
425 and father's brothers, they may also
receive a part of the property. This
part is equal to that of a brother. In
this way the woman may become the
owner of land and house. But this
ownership can be maintained only
during two generations (from mother
to daughter) because the bride's

[1. op. cit. ie: Social Organisation of the
Manchus --- Analyst.]

/117 conr'd/

606 lose their rights of inheritance in their family of origin, but since
691 /118/ they are regarded as members of the wife's family, they get
back their lost rights. Cases are even cited where they become head
in the wife's family. That is the general law fitting this practice.

593 Now the T'ou-jen live at present under a patriarchal system,
608 which is incompatible with this custom. Consequently, it is not
606 surprising that the husband-son-in-law finds himself in a very dis-
554 advantageous position....

[557] Since there has been no adoption of the son-in-law into the
wife's family, he continues to be called by the name of his father,
he and his children; he continues to be a member of his paternal
family, to honor the dead of his father's family, and to lend a hand
to his family of origin in cases of vengeance, etc. Thus in theory
he keeps the rights of inheritance in his paternal family. But since
these sons-in-law usually belong to very poor families, the chance
to enjoy their rights of inheritance very rarely presents itself.

I have, however, met the case in question two or three times,
and each time the brothers who had stayed home tried to eliminate
the husband-son-in-law on the pretext that he had not contributed
to the acquiring of the family's property. However, the unfortunate
one always succeeded in making the most of his rights, if not wholly
at least in part.

That simply proves that the husband-son-in-law living with the
parents-in-law to serve them until death is in a false position with
respect to his family of origin.

His position with respect to his wife's family is no better. In-
deed, under the patriarchal system, succession is paternal. The
name of the son-in-law differs from that of his wife's family; now
we have seen "another name, another family," the son-in-law then
does not have the right of inheritance to make the most of here.

This is what explains the fact that one will never see young people
of a well-to-do family consent to making themselves husband-sons-
in-law, and that only those who have nothing to lose will take this

608 path.

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● 428 /119/ If the parents-in-law are poor, there will be no difficul-
ties for this combination on the part of their own family; if, on the

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606 other hand, the family is well-to-do, the brothers of the future father-
608 in-law will not allow his daughter, at his death, to inherit his prop-
428 erty, which by right will have to revert to them. They will thus do
their utmost early to see that the daughter will be given in marriage
outside the family, and they will try to persuade the father to adopt
one of their sons. If the father will not hear of it and continues to
look for this ideal son-in-law, the family will not be able to gainsay
it as long as the parents-in-law are living. The latter on their part
will be prepared for eventualities and will try to cash in their real
estate so as to be able to favor the daughter. Nevertheless, the son-
in-law will always be the bête noire of the family and will be able
to expect a thousand annoyances and continual ill will. Upon the
death of the parents-in-law, the son-in-law has the right to return
with his wife to his original family; but since the latter is usually
poor, he will not do it; besides, he knows in advance that he will not
be welcome. In the case where his wife's family is rich, they will
always leave at least something to the daughter at the time of division
of property, for example, several plots of land, a house, etc.; she
will never be completely disinherited. Add to that the little bonus
she has put aside in advance, and the young couple will have some-
thing to live on. The brothers of the husband-son-in-law will not
come to beg from him, since the property he possesses is deemed to
belong to his wife.

In the case where the parents-in-law are the only representatives
of their clan, the position of the husband-son-in-law is more enviable.

I have never seen people look for husband-sons-in-law where
there were sons.

The position of the husband-son-in-law with respect to his
wife's family is thus again a false position.

606 The contracts of such marriages, as a general rule, are not
675 punctiliously observed, especially when the parents-in-law are poor;
either the son-in-law ends up by deserting his wife and her /120/
family and goes elsewhere to seek his fortune, or the daughter, lov-
ing her husband, flees with him. If people succeed in bringing them
back and if they persist in no longer wanting to live with the parents,

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178 our judge in case of litigation; nobody would have dared to address himself to the Chinese mandarins for fear of reprisals on the part of the t'ou-se. I believe we /122/ must look in this direction for the solution to our problem. As a matter of fact, the Chinese court
[423] recognizes only the sons' right of inheritance and, lacking them, that of members of the paternal side. In case of litigation, the paternal side is always sure to win its case against an only daughter, and the brother husband-son-in-law, as long as adoption has not been practiced, can always hope to see his rights recognized in his original family. Several verdicts of this kind suffice to deform a custom and create a completely new attitude. In addition, a tested virtue is necessary to be able to resist such temptations!

2. Exchange of a Girl for Furnishing of Services for a Fixed Number of Years

583 Everyday experience having proved that the preceding solution
565 is not practical, say the T'ou-jen, there are people who look for
466 another, more psychological in actual fact. Indeed, the sight of the end of one's own troubles in a future relatively near at hand gives the courage to remain faithful to duty. A family of poor or even average means can promise to give their daughter to a poor young man provided that he binds himself to work five, eight, ten, or 12 years for them.

675 The contracts for these marriages are generally made by the
466 parents themselves, with one or two individuals who act as guarantors
606 for the son-in-law. While in the preceding case the girl can be
583 nubile at the time when a husband is being found for her, in the present case the arrangement always takes place when the girl is only seven, eight, or ten years old at the most. As for the age of the son-in-law, there is nothing definite: he can be ten or 12 years old as well as 30 and even more. When the girl is 15, they will have a little festival, and she will wear her hair in the fashion of married women; then she is married.

Why this engagement when the girl is still a child? /123/ It is because they know one another in the country and do not want to

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858 same right as his cousins, sons of his mother's brothers. The reason
588 given for this is that the mother, at the time of her son's birth, was
no longer a girl but quite married, since she was wearing her hair in
the fashion of wives. But suppose that the young woman, as a result
of difficulties with a sister-in-law or with her parents, or having
simply found a match which she likes, marries again at a "second"
wedding, then she can either take her son with her, and he loses
[428] ipso facto his rights to inheritance in his mother's family, and he
must change his family name and inherit in the family of his new
father (for by the change of name he falls into the category of adop-
tive children), or else the grandmother opposes the departure /129/
of her daughter's son, and he stays in his mother's family, keeping
his rights.

848 It often happens that neither the grandmother nor the mother
792 keeps the child but that they entrust him to a lamasery. Lamas no
178 longer having the right of inheritance, these children disappear from
public life. This category of children are sent to the lamasery proba-
bly to avoid difficulties which arise later at the time of the division
of property, either on the part of the uncles or the nephews, just as
when the mother takes the child to the home of her new husband and
the latter adopts him as his son, which makes one suppose that these
children's right to inherit is nowadays no longer very stable. One
feels a period of transition in the custom. We are here in the presence
of a practice which must have been more general in older times and
which has its roots in an organization which is not patriarchal.

562 These girl-mothers are received in all groups and are regarded
588 as virtuous women in spite of the fact that people know this custom is
593 considered abominable in the eyes of their Chinese neighbors. These
women are recognized as being married; for, they say, their marriage
took place in the manner of the marriage of girls, in the courtyard
of the house, in front of the sacred fire. Their children are recognized
as children of the clan, and they are given the name of their mother.
In T'ou-jen families, when a brother dies, leaving only daughters,
his brothers inherit his property; the daughters indeed do not inherit;
but when this brother has a daughter of the category of which we

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children born later will continue to be always given the name of the guest. It goes without saying that the latter does not bother in any way with the support of either the child or the woman.

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Important remark: No right of inheritance is recognized for these children in the family of their mother. They are considered as the children of a daughter married to some individual, for they bear another name; now, another name, another family.

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554 This curious custom finds its place in the series of marriages because it creates a legal position in favor of the mother identical in every way to that of any married woman. The woman married to a belt is considered the wife of husband X and no one will ever venture to abduct her.

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/132/ Marriages to a belt and those to prayer poles resemble each other strongly; the manner of celebrating them is the same; women who have contracted these marriages are considered as duly married, and the children, in the two groups, are recognized as legitimate. The only difference between the two groups of marriages lies in the fact that those of the prayer-pole group are recognized by the mother's clan, and those of the other are considered as not belonging to this clan. Those of the prayer-pole group seem to be direct vestiges of one of the stages of the matriarchate; indeed, they bring about inheritance in the family by the daughter. Those of the second group, on the contrary, by the fact that the woman and the children are considered as having left the clan, do not seem to have this origin; but if the prayer-pole marriages had not existed formerly, those of the belt group would never have been practiced.

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593 The following item throws a singular light on this category of marriages. A certain Tchang-kia-pa of Hong-ngai-tse-keou had a daughter married to a belt, mother of a small child; in addition, he had a married son at home. As a consequence of continual friction between the daughter married to the belt and the daughter-in-law, the first sought a match, married, and left the paternal home, taking away her son. Thus a certain Hou lu-leang bought her as his second wife for the sum of 200 strings of cash.

After five or six years, at the time of the great fair and festivities of Wei iuen-p'ou which take place in the second moon, a

Hsining River. A Karwa is a kind of mediaeval seignior¹⁷⁵ presided over by a lama. Granted by the emperor, it is a more or less vast domain in which usually⁷⁹² forty to fifty families live. Pei-cha-erh-ti Karwa had⁵⁵⁴ 152 families (*Annals of Hsining*, ch. 9, p. 16a). The tenants had in former times been subjects of the lama. There is a temple on the domain, and next to it is the residence of the lama seignior, with granaries. The domain is the personal property of the lama lord who is completely independent of any Living Buddha or monastery. The three lordship lamas I have met told me that the Ming emperors had granted this privilege to their ancestor lamas, each of whom belonged at that time to the Red Sect and was married. Each of these lamas had been granted a Karwa because he had submitted to the Ming with his small tribe, or had induced a neighboring tribe to submit to the emperor or had rendered service to the Chinese army, giving secret information to the officers fighting the revolted Tibetans. They explained the disappearance of the six Karwa which no longer existed by the fact that these lamas did not follow the Yellow Sect and remained married. They said that theoretically among the lamas of the Red Sect one son should succeed the father as lama of the sect, but in reality when the father died his sons divided among them the property and the subjects, and the Karwa vanished, with the result that the temple became the property of the village. The seigniors, who went over to the Yellow Sect, however, managed to survive by the fact that the lama lord of every generation adopted only one apprentice lama, to whom he bequeathed the domain. The apprentice was usually one of his nephews, and so the Karwa continued its existence, the lama collecting rents from the tenants and imposing some corvées. After the revolt of 1723 the domains of the Karwa were not confiscated but the subjects became subjects of the Chinese officials. Only rents, not taxes, were allowed to be collected and corvées continued to be imposed.

The lama seignior of the Li-ch'i Karwa (who is a⁷⁹² member of the powerful Li T'u-ssu clan) fulfills, of his⁷⁹⁶ own free will, an important function at the monastery of Chie-bzang, but he remains the proprietor of his Karwa and has one apprentice who will inherit the domain. Every year on the tenth of the tenth moon, he invites to his small temple four lamas, alternatively, of the Yellow and the Red Sects, to pray from sunrise to sunset for blessings upon his "subjects," who bring a contribution of twenty pounds of butter and five sheep. The lord provides tea and noodles. The subjects all enjoy attending the religious ceremony and the annual dinner, and are used to the custom of going home at sunrise the next day. The Pei-cha-erh ti Karwa is still celebrated for the fasting rites held at its temple, about which more will be said.

The lord of the Tsan-tsa Karwa, feeling lonely in his estate, married a young girl in 1914. All the members

of his family assembled and protested, urging that a 792
 boy, a nephew of the family, be adopted by the lord 554
 as his apprentice, and that a testament should be writ- 428
 ten and signed by the officials of the village, in order
 to make sure that after the death of the lord, the domain
 and his private property (sheep, cows, horses) would
 be bequeathed to the apprentice. The apprentice would
 first have to be sent to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung
 in order to receive a serious religious education. Not
 long after the birth of a child to the lord and his wife,
 the lord died. His wife received a small field and some
 cattle, but the Karwa was inherited by the apprentice.
 The domain passes at every generation to a member
 of the same family (from uncle to nephew). The
 family retains the right to keep an eye on the regular
 succession, and so in the country a Karwa is considered
 to be the property of the Karwa lama and his family.
 This fact reveals a social tradition existing throughout
 the country, and the pride of the old families to whose
 lama a Karwa had been granted by the emperors in
 former times.

This pride appears to be the reason why, when a
 lama lord dies without having adopted an apprentice,
 the whole family convenes and decides to offer the do-
 main to a lama member of the family. However, when
 there is not such a lama, the members of the family
 divide among them the domain and private property
 of the deceased, and the Karwa vanishes.

Ch'an-shih-chia ("Master in Dhyana" families)

This institution, dating from the Ming, seems to be 175
 in the line of the Karwa. In Huang-chung there was 792
 attached to the title of Ch'an-shih ("Master in Dhy- 554
 ana"), the privilege of receiving every year from the 651
 Chinese administration a fixed quantity of wheat. At
 the same time, if the lama happened to acquire some
 fields on which to build a grain or oil mill, his fields
 and mills were exempt from taxes. The title of Ch'an-
 shih appears to have been hereditary. This seems to be
 the reason why the people always talk of Master in
 Dhyana "families" and seldom of Master in Dhyana
 lamas. In the country north of the Hsining River,
 with which I was best acquainted, there were still sev-
 eral Masters in Dhyana, independent of any monastery,
 living next to their relatives and each having a small
 temple of his own. The family tried to provide a
 nephew as an apprentice, for such a lama would upon
 the death of his master become Master in Dhyana by
 the transfer of the original seal and the original patent
 letters.

Most of these Masters in Dhyana lived in opulence, 554
 their families being exempted from land taxes because 428
 they were supposed to till the fields of the lama. In
 Suo-pu-t'an I encountered the Shih-hu Ch'an-shih-chia,
 a layman, who enjoyed, with his family, the privileges
 of a Ch'an-shih lama. Since there had been no lama
 in the family to succeed the previous master he had in-

herited the privilege by virtue, he said, of possessing the seal and the patent letters. Every year he received his wheat support and was exempt from land and mill taxes. To him, this condition seemed very reasonable! The same condition existed in Sha-t'ang-ch'uan with the layman Hsiao-ssu Ch'an-shih chia. It is hard to understand how the privilege could have continued after the revolt of 1723, when under orders from Peking all the seals and patent letters granted during the Ming were withdrawn.

These facts shed light on the peculiar way in which Lamaism was diffused during the Ming in Huang-chung, and explain one of the reasons why the monasteries became the proprietors of vast domains, governing subjects and exerting a tremendous influence all over the country.

During the Yüan and the very beginning of the Ming dynasties, small communities of lamas of the Red Sect had been founded by wandering lamas who had attained a certain local reputation for skill in necromancy, or who by asceticism had gained a reputation as holy men, thereby attracting a few disciples. The bonds which bound these married or unmarried men were, without doubt, looser than the bonds which tied the lamas of the lamasteries of the later Yellow Sect. However, it may be assumed that in those times none of these little communities yet exerted a prominent influence upon the country, and for that reason nothing about them was recorded in the *Annals*.

The minor importance of these monasteries seems to account also for the fact, that at the beginning of the Ming (1368), the lama, Sanla, could be appointed chief of the board of lamas. The fact, however, of the institution of such a board at the beginning of the Ming seems to prove that at that time although the communities were small, the total number of lamas was large enough to justify the creation of such a board.⁴⁷

NO LIVING BUDDHAS IN HUANG-CHUNG DURING THE MING DYNASTY

It is noteworthy that at that time titles and benefits were indiscriminately bestowed upon meritorious lamas, lamas who were chiefs of tribes, chiefs of more or less important communities, and even single lamas. There were as yet no Living Buddhas.

The first Living Buddha, recognized as the reincarnation of Tsong khapa (1357-1419), the founder of the Yellow Sect, was Gedun-gyatso who in 1475 inherited the succession of the second head of the sect. The prin-

⁴⁷ The Ming policy of the T'u-ssu, Karwa, and Nangsu institutions, and of the grant of Kuo shih and Ch'an-shih titles to lamas with their respective privileges, was not peculiar to Huang-chung. It was also followed in south Kansu, Lin-t'ao, and Ho-chou, where nineteen T'u-ssu, Kuo-shih and Ch'an-shih, etc., were created. After the revolt of 1723 the Chinese officials of Ho-chou asked for the abolition of these institutions, because of oppressions by T'u-ssu and lamas (*Annals of the Province of Kansu*, ch. 88: 12-13).⁴⁸

lamasery rather than accept any of the propositions suggested to end the feud.² 792
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(5) I was told many times, by two honorable intendants, that it was the heated rivalry between the intendencies of the three supreme chiefs of Erh-ku-lung that had, in former times, caused the departure of Chang-chia Hutukhtu, the rift between the supreme chiefs, and the decline of Erh-ku-lung. There must be a grain of truth in the traditions of these experienced men who, better than we, understand the enormous influence exerted by the intendencies upon the Living Buddhas, and the jealousies between the intendencies.

(6) Most old lamas have a disciple who, upon their death, becomes their legal heir and proprietor of their entire fortune (home, herds, money, etc.). However, it is a noted fact that it is very difficult for the disciple of an intendant to inherit the fortune of his master. The old intendant of the Tenma Living Buddha, supreme chief of the monastery of Kan-ch'an-ssu, became sick, retired, and declined into that stage of life called "second childhood." His disciple, an intelligent boy of fourteen years, following the advice of his shrewd, experienced maternal uncle, Manguru, chief of a Tibetan tribe in Waza, subject to Tenma, secretly moved the comfortable fortune of his master to the home of his rich uncle. When the master died, Tenma, thinking like every Living Buddha, suspected that his old intendant had amassed a fortune at his expense and went immediately to examine his richly furnished home, hoping to find a colossal fortune. The floors of the rooms were turned over, the chimney broken, the sheep, cow, and horse pens dug up several feet deep, but no silver was found. Railing and raging, the Living Buddha drove into his own pens the 150 cows, 40 horses, and 600 sheep of the deceased. 792
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The maternal uncle defended the disciple, and protested. After a couple of days the deluded Tenma went to Hsining with an imposing retinue of twenty men in order to accuse the disciple and his uncle at the court of the subprefect, of having stolen the fortune unjustly amassed by the intendant. The disciple and his uncle were flogged and thrown into jail, but did not confess to being guilty. After a few days the shrewd uncle made friends with the underlings of the officials by bribing them. He and the disciple were released, and thereupon rewarded the underlings by showing them the way to extort money from Tenma. After three years, the subprefect declared both the uncle and the disciple innocent. Tenma brought suit again at the court of the Amban, where it dragged on, for more than four years more, which made the officials happy. They excited his hatred against the disciple and his uncle. But the disciple and his uncle lived in a small inn and 792
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² Reginald Farrer, *Rainbow bridge*, 111, London, Arnold, 1921. Farrer was in T'ien-t'ang-ssu during the summer months, studying the flora of the country. He describes the wonderful bridge and includes a picture of it.

did not spend much money. Tenma, with his retinue, living according to his station, giving bribes and sending gifts, spent lavishly. Finally, the disgusted Amban, in order to end the trouble, delegated his power to the Living Buddha of Seerkok. 792
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The intendant of the living Buddha of Seerkok, prompted by the Amban, settled the question after two or three sessions. He condemned Tenma to pay 3,000 taels to the disciple as indemnity for carrying away the cattle. Tenma protested. He was put in the jail of the monastery and manacled. After two months he agreed to pay the allotted sum, and so was released. [697]

Epilogue: For seven years, the stubborn Manguru was the most talked of man in the country because of his courageous resistance to the Living Buddha. He decided to rehabilitate the poor man, on whose chieftain's prestige his tribe depended. He bought a nice black horse, a fine Peking saddle, put a piece of yellow satin on the top of it, and, preceded by a band of Chinese musicians, he and the disciple prostrated themselves and, apologizing, presented the horse.

This case is unique in the annals of Lamaism in Hsining. A stubborn Living Buddha, condemned by the intendency of Seerkok, was put in jail and manacled. What was the cause of the trouble? Living Buddhas were eternally suspicious of the honesty of their intendants. Noteworthy also is the fact that the maternal uncle, not his father or brother, defended the disciple. In the tribe of Manguru matriarchy is still prevalent.

(7) Last of all, a very important psychology is to be noted regarding injustices perpetrated among the Monguors and Tibetans, and among lamas as well as among Living Buddhas. When an injustice is committed, its perpetrators are pursued by the enraged guardian spirit that protects the wealth of the family involved. According to this philosophy, when intermittent calamities or misfortunes occur in a family and weigh it down, magical rites are to be performed to propitiate the enraged pursuing spirit. (This rite will be studied later.) 792
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This rite was ordered to be performed at his branch monastery by the poor Sumpa Hutukhtu when, after his voluntary banishment, one misfortune succeeded another. He claimed that the misfortunes were caused by the injustices perpetrated by the former and present intendants of his monastery, who had aroused the avenging bolts of the guardian spirits of the families who had suffered their injustices. The same rite was performed at Erh-ku-lung in 1919, on the orders of T'u-kuan Hutukhtu, after he had vainly built a Bumkhang in 1917, in order to put an end to the misfortunes which ruined the monastery. It was performed at Seerkok in 1920, on the orders of the supreme chief of the monastery, Min-chu-erh Hutukhtu, in the same circumstances, and the same explanation was openly proclaimed by both prominent chiefs of the most important monasteries. 792
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[p. 43(A)]

If, however, black and white rites do not work, the Monguors call for the Taoist priest, who paints all the items used (the wood, etc.), with a coat of goat blood. He binds the logs in a bundle by means of goat guts, and sprinkles goat blood upon the burning fire. The rite is called the "red Wei-sang."

These facts give evidence of the importance attached by the Monguors to the fire for purifying from uncleanness and preventing harm caused by evil spirits. They show their devotion for the fire by having a big cypress fire kindled during the performance of religious rites and the most important moments of life, as at marriages or the celebration of the sixtieth birthday. However, fire does not only play an important role in the life of the Monguors in the open air; its role is as important in the private life of the families where it is worshipped under the form of the "fire of the hearth," the "hearth god."

THE HEARTH FIRE

Among the Monguors, the Chinese, and the Tibetans, the cult of the hearth god belongs entirely to the department of the women. Everywhere, the temple of the hearth god is the kitchen.

No wonder that the hearth god is supposed to be interested in a special way in the fecundity of the wives and the protection of the children, and that it is honored at fixed times by its own ritual.

FIRE AND FECUNDITY

When the Monguor bride arrives at the home of the bridegroom, she does not prostrate herself before her parents-in-law or before the guests, but is led straight to the kitchen. Here she worships the god of the hearth giving three prostrations, burning incense, offering a bottle of wine and her chopsticks, which she has brought with her.

It was noted in the first volume of this study that the youngest couple in the family always lives in the kitchen, where the god of the hearth is honored, because the Monguors say that in that way fecundity is assured. Women who have plenty of children and do not wish to have more will leave the kitchen and live in another room. It has been noted that, among the Mongols, the youngest son inherits his father's hearth, occupies his tent, and is called the prince of the fire.

When poor people cannot afford the luxury of a lavish marriage, nor invite guests, they marry the young couple in the kitchen "before the god of the hearth." The makeup of the new bride is done before the god of the hearth and not in the living room.¹⁹

An unusual practice relates to the fecundity assumed to be bestowed on women by means of the cult of the spirit of the fire (and of the god of the hearth). On the fifteenth of the first moon, at night, on the edge of the big threshing floor of the village, a number of small heaps of cypress boughs are kindled. While musicians

¹⁹ L. Schram, *Le Mariage chez les T'ou-ien du Kansu*, 39.

every courtyard there is encountered a guardian deity of the family.

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SPIRITS HONORED IN THE FAMILIES— PECULIAR CONCEPT

The Monguor concept of the deities honored in the families is very peculiar. Once a family starts worshipping a deity, its cult must be continued forever in that family, for fear that the deity, if evicted, might loose its avenging bolts of calamities and disaster, and the long train of miseries would never stop.

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According to this conception, at the time of dividing the paternal inheritance the eldest son inherits the cult of the deity previously honored by the father. The duty to continue the old family cult falls upon him. His younger brothers, however, are free to make a choice among all the available deities of Taoism, of Lamaism, even of the Twelve Tengris of the shamans, and to start their newly founded families with a new guardian deity. Every two or three years all the brothers must still convene in the house of the eldest, to attend a rite celebrated for the old family deity and to contribute to the expenses of the celebration. The tie which binds them to the cult of the old family deity is so strong, that in the event a great calamity overcomes one of the brothers, notwithstanding the fact that he honors his own deity, he will invite all his brothers to worship the old family deity at the home of the eldest brother. The old family deity which had been honored for so many generations is still supposed to harbor in its heart a predilection for all those who honored it. The old Monguor, Li San-ming, told me this in Li chia t'an in 1914, the day after his brothers had worshipped the old family deity at his home.

The fervent cult of the guardian deity of the family is a characteristic of the Monguor family. No Kuang-li of Naring Valley told the story of a poor old widower, Li ssu, living in the village of P'irke in 1908, who could hardly make both ends meet, and who had inherited from his father the picture of Twelve Tengris with the Black Tiger rider of the shamans, which he did not honor. Every time the villagers of P'irke took ill they went to the home of the old man, to honor and to propitiate the spirits, because a certain shaman had said that all the misfortunes occurring in the village were caused by these spirits, who took with bad grace the neglect of the old man. The extremely shy old man tried to make a living out of these circumstances and, stubborn as a mule, he would not allow anyone to honor the spirits in his home, as long as the villagers would not provide for his livelihood, for he knew the villagers were sick with apprehension. But the villagers, as stubborn as he, honored the spirit behind his house, burning incense there.

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After his death, his only married daughter, living in the village of Li chia t'ai, inherited his poor house. The villagers of P'irke, having lived under the threat of

[p. 125(B)]

supposed to have offended. It is for that reason that during the rite of spring all the spirits are invited by the shamans to come down along the rope to be honored by the villagers so that all of them may extend their protection. 772 782

In the Halachih Valley, among subjects of the Lu T'u-ssu, I encountered the following case. At the time of division of a parental inheritance, a son considered that the decision made by the elders of the village was unjust toward him, and at the very moment when he should have appended his signature, he ran into the courtyard, pencil in hand, crying toward the sky: "Twelve Tengris, protectors of our family, you know that the division is unjust, that I am compelled to apply my signature." Then he entered the room and signed. In such circumstances the ultimate recourse of every Chinese would inevitably be to invoke "Old Father Heaven" and never another spirit. 776 428

Carpenters, building a temple in Sumdoo, having had trouble with the chief of the tribe, proposed to go to the monastery of Erh-ku-lung in order to take the oath before the statue of Buddha. The chief answered, "No need to go so far, take the oath here, Buddha is everywhere; he will know it." 776 466

The belief that all the spirits are everywhere, know all things, bless and punish independently, and that they are just and equitable, is deeply ingrained in the minds of the Monguors of today. It is easy to understand that in a society in which each department is administered by a particular spirit, independent and omnipotent in its sphere, little room is left for the activities of the "spirit of Heaven"; that finally "Heaven," the "Great Heaven," occupies a role of honorary dimensions and nominal importance, and the characteristics and activities of the "spirit of Heaven" among the Monguors are hard to define. 776

Can "Heaven," which is unable to control the good spirits, control the evil spirits? According to the Monguors, no spirit can control the department of its neighbor, and so in case of interference of evil spirits, magical devices are contrived in order to drive away and combat the evildoers and make them harmless. The good spirits, however, are invited to participate in the struggle against them. When the spirits of hail threaten the village with devastation, magic devices are used by the shamans, and the spirit protectors of the village are carried to the battlefield, and Buddha and "Heaven and all the spirits" are invoked. If they are unable to match their opponents, they abandon the struggle, rushing with their carriers through rivers and precipices. Good spirits can lend a hand in the struggle, but they may lose the battle and—so much for "Heaven and all the spirits." Facts speak for themselves.

Is not this fierce struggle between good and evil spirits, between representatives of two opposite worlds, reminiscent of Manichaeism, fervently practiced by Turkic peoples in Central Asia during the last centuries of the first millennium? [p. 150(A)] 771

/The Sedentary Tibetans/

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[595] fences and the watchmen no longer function and it would be foolhardy to leave crops standing.

Within the household, the composition is similar to that of the nomadic tent, although there may be less non-kin hangers-on and a higher frequency of joint-family occupancy. Should the family be a polygynous one, the wives will live in the one house, instead of each having her own. In some cases, the actual family may be divided into nomads and farmers with full occupancy of the house occurring only during the winter season. When this happens, usually the father and one son care for the herds while the other sons remain on the farm. Upon the death of the father, the properties (i.e., the herds and the fields) are no longer kept together and the fission of the family occurs.

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C. The Mongours

At least until 1949 Mongour social organization retained a reflection of the land allocated by Chingis Khan to his sons, brothers and leading generals. As may be seen clearly in Mongour social structure, the definite differentiation between nobility and subject population resulted from these allocations. The nobles are very much concerned with their claims of descent either from the imperial family or from other noble "founding ancestors" whereas the commoner population shows little concern with its genealogical pattern. However, the subject population is closely related to the noble rulers, in a way that was partly tribal but later became feudal.

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[701] Each noble was obliged to furnish a definite number of troops depending on the size of the territory and the population of which he was the nominal head. It appears likely that the Mongour social groupings began to form as early as Yuan and Mongol rule. Generally speaking, the Mongour commoners are descendants of families that were already subject commoners in the Mongol period, with later additions of families of Chinese and Tibetan origin. There are 17 Mongour clans and four general types of clan leaders. Some of these clans were originally formed by descendants of the Yuan dynasty (Ch'i and Lu clans), and others by military commanders, who though commoners by birth, were given subject families to rule over, as a reward for their services.

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[428] Each genealogical register of the clans starts with the appointment of a T'u-ssu, (the office of the T'u-ssu, clan chief, being elective or hereditary). The present rank of T'u-ssu was first created by appointment in the Ming dynasty. Each T'u-ssu, with his offspring, forms a unit known as his "bone." Since primogeniture prevails in Mongour social organization, the oldest son of the T'u-ssu inherits the clan leadership after his father's death.

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/The Monguors/

leadership after his father's death. It is noteworthy that by the beginning of the present century, the T'u-szu was no longer living with his noble kinsmen, but was living in a separate and distinct family, each of which formed an independent economic unit. Therefore, some T'u-szu were rich, others poor, and the status differentiation, that previously had been determined by wealth disappeared. Thereafter, noble families functioned economically in the same manner as their subject families. In each clan the nobles were subdivided into small units called "houses." Some clans have three houses, some four or five, some as many as thirteen. Each noble family recognizes the house to which it belongs. In each clan the first branch is called the Great House, the second is called the Second House, and so on.

The number of houses that had been established according to the number of sons of the "founding" ancestor has been retained as a genealogical principle. Nobles identify themselves, for example, by referring to what "house" they belong. Since Ming times, the T'u-szu personally came to be regarded as the ruler and "possessor" of subject commoners. In former times each group of nobles collectively was the "possessor" of the subjects. Subjects and territory were assumed to have been assigned by the emperor to the clan as a whole. If a noble was at odds with his clan, he could either leave the clan, taking with him a proportionate number of the clan's subjects, and join another clan, or he could found a new clan.

Collective ownership of subject commoners by consanguinal noble families is logically stronger in a nomadic economic structure than in an agricultural one. Memories of this concept, however, persist among nomads who have become farmers.

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[428] The rules of succession to the office of clan chief did not allow for competition. However, there are, in fact, elements of inheritance, of choice or selection, of the consent of the governed, and of appointment by the overlord. Any chief succeeds to office according to definite clan rules, namely, he must belong genealogically to the nobles who are descendants of the "founding ancestors." When a T'u-szu dies, all heads of the clan's noble families together with the heads of prominent commoner families convene to choose a successor. There is a social inequality between commoners and nobles, that should prove difficult to eliminate completely.

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When the Ming dynasty invested them with the title of T'u-sze, the headmen ceased to be simple chiefs of clans and became instead Chinese officials whose rights over their hereditary subjects were modified by their duty to the Chinese rulers. The institution of T'u-szu or "local chief" was really one that had been developed for the special purpose of administering non-Chinese tribal

/The Monguors/

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*563 into another lord's service. If they attempted to do so, the punishment was death. After the great rebellion of the Moslems (1862-1878), however, the military power of the Monguor gradually declined. No T'u-szu after this time really wielded any true power.

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[466] The principle of corvée, to which the Monguor were still liable, is founded on the vassalage which previously bound the nomads to the "service" of the chief. Although they neither tilled the soil nor paid taxes, nonetheless they were real vassals.

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*563 The register of all noble families is kept at the seat of the T'u-szu. Even the daughters, and the families into which they marry, are noted. A noble is also entered in the book of genealogies. However, the names of unmarried sons are not inscribed, because they presumably have not produced sons for the clan.

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*563 When the Monguor first settled in their frontier territory and began the transition from nomadism to agriculture, there was probably considerable social distance between the commoners and the nobles. With settled life and the increasing dominance of agriculture, noble families, like commoner families, became increasingly dependent on their ability to manage their own farms. Local prestige was determined more and more by wealth and ability, and class became secondary.

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*563 The Monguor village consists of a group of families living in a well-defined territory and subject to the immediate authority of the village chief. All villagers till the soil, and the population is large or small according to the fertility of the soil and the extent of the pastures. Nobles and commoners live in the same kind of house, and they gain their livelihood in the same manner. Therefore, their substance and wealth are not sharply differentiated.

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*563 Until 1922 the extended Monguor family was a patrilineal, patrilocal family under the authority of the grandfather, or the great-grandfather if he survived. No family usually exceeded four generations. Property and wealth were owned collectively, but authority over the property was unequally concentrated in the senior generation. Polygamy in Monguor society is decidedly an economic question, since polygamy does not go well with residence in a common courtyard. The breakup of an extended family is visibly symbolized when one of the nuclear families sets up its own kitchen. The position of chief or head of the family normally passes by primogeniture to the eldest son of the first wife of the previous head. In every family, rich or poor, noble or commoner, the head of the family is also the religious chief, the family administrator, and the family representative in dealing with higher authorities outside the family. In his administration of the family, he has authority over all the community property. The breakdown of the extended family usually takes place when the grandfather dies. It is very seldom that his surviving sons remain united under the authority of the eldest son. More commonly, the sons divide the property and "build their own kitchens."

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